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OF MODERN REVISIONISM AND THE FIGHT
OF MARXIST - LENINISTS**

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**TOGLIATI'S «TESTAMENT»,
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This editorial was ready for publication as early as mid-October. But it was precisely during those days that the news came of N. Khrushchev's ouster from the leading posts of the Communist Party and of the Soviet State. Meanwhile, the present Soviet leaders have more than once re-iterated and continue to persist that they will pursue the revisionist line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the letter. While the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, having adopted P. Togliati's «testament» as the basic line of their activity, continue to propagate it far and wide and present it as a general platform for the international communist movement as a whole.

Under these circumstances the editorial board decided to publish the article without making any modifications.

P. Togliati's last writing, christened by the western press as his «testament» appeared in the 1964, September 5 edition Nr. 35 of the theoretic review of the CC of the Italian Communist Party «Rinascita». This was a memorandum «on problems of the international workers movement and its unity» written by P. Togliati at Yalta in August 1964, which would serve as basis in his talks with N. Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders on mat-

arisen in connection with the convocation of an international meeting of the communist and workers parties by N. Khrushchev's group.

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party headed by L. Longo who was appointed Secretary-General after P. Togliati's death, hurried to publish and present it as its platform. «The leadership of our Party», Longo wrote in his short preface to Togliati's «testament», «learned with deep emotion of the document prepared by Comrade Togliati, agreed that 'it contains an explicit exposition of the line of our Party concerning the present situation of the international communist movement' and adopted it. We are therefore publishing Comrade Togliati's memorandum as an exact expression of the position of the Party on the problems of the international workers and communist movement and its unity».

The publication of this document aroused vivid comment both in revisionist circles and in the bourgeois press. Whereas N. Khrushchev's group maintained a reserved stand towards it sufficing to publish it without making any comment, the imperialists and Tito's clique hailed it with jubilation. And this because of the fact that P. Togliati in this document does not only reaffirm the anti-marxist and hostile positions of the Italian revisionists, particularly towards the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, but also because it discloses the divergences existing between the Italian and other revisionists, particularly N. Khrushchev's group.

The whole of Togliati's «testament» is permeated throughout with a distortion of marxism-leninism; with attempts to replace it with modern revisionism in theory and in practice. It reflects and amplifies

the line of «Italian socialism» and the theory of «Italian polycentralization».

This document must have been published without the consent and contrary to the wishes of N. Khrushchev's revisionist group, for having a revisionist, anti-Chinese, anti-Albanian and anti-Soviet character, it is at the same time directed against the Khrushchevian group itself as well.

As such, Togliati's «Testament» is of major significance to us, marxist-leninists. Through it the true revolutionaries can see what results the modern revisionists have attained so far in their struggle which far from enabling them to realize their hostile aims, have seriously created major difficulties for them, deepening and aggravating contradictions between them. But at the same time the marxist-leninists get a clear idea of the plans and methods which the modern revisionists intend to use now and in the days to come against the marxist-leninist parties, against the genuine revolutionaries, against communism.

These diabolic schemes of the modern revisionists must be denounced firmly and without hesitation. The illusions which the various revisionist groups are trying to create about their positions must be exposed and dealt a death blow to. True revolutionaries must be aware of the present and future peril of the enemies of communism. This calls for a careful analysis of Togliati's «testament».

**The main objective of revisionists is to fight
marxism-leninism**

Perusing P. Togliati's «testament» one can very clearly see that the main purpose of this document

is not to arrive at the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp, but to point out methods, forms and means which, according to the opinion of Togliati and all the revisionist leaders of the Italian Communist Party, would make the fight against marxist-leninist parties and their positions, against their growing influence, particularly against the Communist Party of China, more effective. P. Togliati does not make a secret of this in any way; in his memorandum he has even a special chapter entitled: «How best to contend with the Chinese positions». And this because the revisionists are becoming aware of the fact that their positions are waning, that nobody is lending credit to their demagoguery any longer, that marxist-leninist revolutionary groups and parties are coming into being everywhere and that the revolutionary masses of workers and people are joining their ranks.

In fact P. Togliati is greatly disturbed, as he says in his «testament» by the fact that all is not going well in the revisionist camp, in his fight against marxism-leninism, and he lays the blame for this on N. Khrushchev's «erroneous», «dogmatic» and brutal tactics: He writes: «The plans we proposed for a vigorous battle against erroneous political positions and against the dissentient activities of the Chinese communists, were different from those actually carried out. A different line has been pursued and I do not consider the consequences as very satisfactory».

Togliatist revisionists are the most timid but, at the same time, the most consistent ones. Therefore they demand, as their deceased chief clearly expresses, that the open polemics against the Chinese «dogmatists» and others (read: against marxist-leninists) should continue without interruption.

By this the Italian revisionists reveal their true features as sworn enemies of marxism-leninism. They oppose any cessation of open public disputes be it even temporary and pro forma, for otherwise they would come short of carrying out their mission of treason. By this they, at the same time, tell N. Khrushchev that his demagogical maneuvers of «ceasing polemics» are futile and can fool nobody, for polemics cannot be stopped by either the revisionists or the «dogmatists».

But on the other hand P. Togliati wants the axis of polemics to be turned to another direction. Judging by the bitter experience of the poor results of the propaganda of N. Khrushchev's group in the alleged defense of the principles of «creative marxism-leninism», he suggests giving up theoretic discussions with marxist-leninist parties touching the vital issues of principle of the revolutionary marxist-leninist doctrine and of the activities of the communist movement and turn the discussion entirely on minor, day to day, current internal issues of the country which are vague, bear no significance of principle and cannot be controlled and towards which, according to Togliati, the propaganda of the Chinese and Albanian «dogmatists» is quite «powerless» and exerts no «effect whatsoever».

P. Togliati advances a very dangerous idea in this proposal. In their polemics with marxist-leninists on major issues of principle the modern revisionists have met with complete defeat, as Togliati himself is compelled to affirm, their demagoguery has failed and they are unable to belittle the basic principles of marxism-leninism. Polemics on the basis of principle spells sure death for the revisionists for they reveal before the masses of communists the

flagrant deviation of the revisionists from the fundamental principles of marxism-leninism, they reveal their true features of renegates.

As a consequence, the revolutionary marxist-leninists everywhere are setting up new groups and parties which fight with resoluteness against the revisionists, in defense of the marxist-leninist doctrine. It is just this situation and perspective that P. Togliati fears. And in order to evade the complete exposure of revisionism he wants the polemics to be turned away from issues of principle and to be concentrated on matters of minor importance, on day to day matters. What Togliati wants to say by this is: let each keep his own ideological views and let there be no polemics on these; let the communists not preoccupy themselves with the basic principles of marxism-leninism; check by all means the process of setting up new revolutionary groups and parties; let the revisionists in peace so that they may more easily put into effect their opportunist line, the line of renouncing the revolutionary struggle, the line of doing away with revolutionary marxism-leninism, the line of alliance with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

But the major polemics going on today between marxism-leninism and revisionism can never be stopped, despite the attempts of Togliati & C^o to deviate and silence it. This polemics will cease only when modern revisionism is totally crushed. The marxist-leninists consider it their high internationalist duty to carry this ideological dispute of vital importance to the future of the revolutionary communist movement to the end.

P. Togliati is dissatisfied not only with the way N. Khrushchev's group have conducted their polemics with the marxist-leninists but also with the **practical**

steps they have taken to carry out their treacherous revisionist policy. «They responded to the attacks of the Chinese (read: to the fight of principle of the marxist-leninist parties),» says he, «in general with an ideological and propagandistic discussion and not conformable to our policy of fighting against the positions of the Chinese». Togliati mentions the signature of the infamous Moscow Treaty for a partial ban on nuclear tests and Khrushchev's visit to Egypt as «positive» but «insufficient» steps in this direction. And he suggests that other such «practical» steps be taken more frequently both by the Khrushchevian revisionists and by those of other countries.

Thus, Togliati and the other Italian revisionists who have succumbed to the atomic blackmail of the imperialists, call on N. Khrushchev's group to dispel all «futile hesitation» and to proceed at a quicker rate towards the road of getting closer and making concessions to the imperialists, as they did in signing the tri-partite treaty on nuclear tests. But the policy of succumbing to imperialist blackmail, of unprincipled concessions to the imperialists and of bargaining with them has not only led to any easing of international tension, or forestalling the danger of war, as the revisionists who are scared to death, claim, but has, on the contrary, whetted their appetite and heightened their aggressiveness, a proof of which lies in the aggressive acts of the American imperialists in Southeastern Asia, in the ceaseless provocations in West Berlin, in the intensified piratical acts against Cuba and others these recent months. Even Togliati himself is obliged to affirm in his memorandum that the international situation at present is worse than it was two or three years ago.

In his «testament» Togliati urges the revisionists wherever they may be to intensify their efforts against marxist-leninist parties, against their authority and influence in the world. He is alarmed particularly at the ever growing influence of the marxist-leninists, especially of the Chinese Communist Party, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, or «the third world», as Togliati calls these regions. Therefore he recommends more active penetration of revisionist groups in these regions, with a view to fighting the positions of the marxist-leninist parties and to liquidating their influence there. He proposes «...an international meeting called by certain western communist parties with a wide range of representatives from the democratic countries of the «third world» and from their progressive movements, in order to work out a concrete line of collaboration and assistance for these movements. This would be a way to fight the Chinese by facts and not merely by words.»

Why do Togliati and the Togliatists feel so uneasy about the situation in «the third world»? Is there no powerful anti-imperialist national-liberation movement afoot in these countries? Or is it precisely this that disturbs them? The whole world now knows that the Communist Party of China and the other marxist-leninist parties are the true and persistent supporters of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, unconquerable fighters against imperialism for the freedom and independence of peoples. Therefore to oppose the line pursued by them, to try to eliminate their influence among peoples who have taken up arms against imperialists as Togliati proposes, would mean in fact to oppose the anti-imperialist liberation

wars of peoples. And facts go to show that the entire line of the modern revisionists, from Tito down to Khrushchev and Togliati, has always aimed at checking and paralyzing the liberation war of the enslaved peoples against imperialism, under various pretexts and maneuvers. Isn't it Togliati who has declared time and again that «the colonial regime is almost down and out», that «the imperialists have no longer spheres of influence in the world»? Weren't the Italian revisionists with Togliati in the lead who preached collaboration between the socialist countries and «the leading classes in the capitalist countries» to set up an order of things «which would satisfy all the aspirations of men and peoples for liberty, well-being, independence»? Weren't they who proposed «unified initiatives» on the part of states with different systems, especially in Europe, «in order to undertake joint intervention to help the under-developed regions to progress»? This is the kind of «assistance» Togliati thinks of giving to peoples who fight imperialism!

In pursuance of his ideas on how to fight the marxist-leninist parties more successfully, Togliati in his «testament» expresses reserve regarding the advantages and expediency of a meeting of the communist parties which would have as its object to excommunicate and condemn the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania and other fraternal parties and to definitely split the communist movement. The Togliatists consider such tactics of N. Khrushchev's group of renegates as erroneous and very perilous for the cause of the revisionists.

P. Togliati considers it very hazardous to call a meeting in order to carry to the end and consacrify the split in the communist movement, because a

practice of this kind would enhance the struggle of the marxist-leninists throughout the world against the revisionists, it would speed up the process of differentiation in the ranks of the world communist movement, and the unification of the marxist-leninist forces and would in this way spell the inevitable doom of the revisionists. «If a split were effected,» Togliati writes, «the danger would become ever so grave with the formation of a Chinese international center which would set up its «branches» in all countries. All the parties, especially the weaker ones, would tend to devote the greatest part of their efforts to polemizing against the so-called «branches» of a new «International»... As a matter of fact at present too the fractionist trends of the Chinese are spreading on a wide scale and almost in every country. We should avoid that the quantity of these attempts turn to quality, that is to say, to a true, general and sanctioned split.

As a veteran Cominternist Palmiro Togliati is well aware of the organizational power of the marxist-leninists of the world and is very much afraid of it (he calls it the establishment of a «new International», a «Chinese one» with «branches» that is, with marxist-leninist parties, throughout the world). Although he tries to belittle the new marxist-leninist parties that are coming into being, growing and maturing throughout the world, he is afraid of them for they foretell the grave danger looming over modern revisionism. By this he wants to warn the Khrushchevians who rely on arrogance, who are intoxicated and blindfolded by «the economic and military strength» they possess, who rely blindly on the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, not to forget the lessons of history, the lesson of the experience of the international communist

movement, not to forget the disgraceful defeat which the IIIrd International dealt on the opportunists and revisionists of the IInd International. Thus, Togliati tells N. Khrushchev and his followers: give up the «meeting», give up the definite split, for you speed up your catastrophe, and we can avoid this catastrophe by acting otherwise!

These two different tactics of the revisionists are dictated by the different conditions under which they work. N. Khrushchev and his group, having usurped the reins of state in the Soviet Union, think they can overcome the crisis which a complete split in the communist movement would bring about by using ruthless police measures, persecutions, suppression against revolutionary marxist-leninists who rise and will rise against the line of treason of the revisionists. While the Togliatists, who work in a capitalist country and have no state power in their hands, and who, as a consequence, cannot halt the activities of the marxist-leninists by such methods, are opposed to N. Khrushchev's extreme acts to split the communist movement outright, hoping in this way to avoid the catastrophe and paralyze the organization and fight of the revolutionary communists by other methods and maneuvers.

But neither the brutal methods used by Khrushchev and his group nor the «refined» tactics proposed by Togliati can halt the inevitable process of amassing and organizing the revolutionary marxist-leninist forces, can evade the complete and ultimate defeat of the modern revisionists.

The Togliatists oppose the intentions of N. Khrushchev and his group to break up and definitely rupture all relations with the People's Republic of China and with the other fraternal socialist countries even for another reason. They are afraid of the

ultra-reactionary trends which are becoming more and more emphatic every day as in the USA (Goldwater) and in the Western Europe. «We think» P. Togliati writes in his «testament» that we should take account of this situation in all our dealings with the Chinese communists. Unity of all socialist forces in united action, even above ideological divergences, against the most reactionary groups of imperialism is an indispensable necessity. We cannot conceive of ousting China and the Chinese communists from this unity.

From what P. Togliati says it turns out that he is not at all worried by the fact that the communist movement and the socialist camp have been split, nor is he concerned about finding a way out of the deep divergences of principle that have arisen in their ranks. No, he wants the polemics against the marxist-leninists to be continued without interruption, and as we have already pointed out, he even recommends more effective ways and means to fight against them. But he is afraid of the «lunatics», he proposes the use of more elastic methods, more discretion, to abstain from blowing up all bridges with 700 million strong People's China, providing against evil days that may lie ahead. This is a typical opportunist attitude 'a la borghesia italiana' who are traditionally inclined to change alliances and «shirts» at every critical moment.

Togliati's assertions that he is allegedly concerned about the war against the common foe, the imperialists, and his proposal to coordinate the joint actions with the People's Republic of China in this fight, are demagogical from top to bottom, reckoned to waylay people. What unity and collaboration on the basis of the war against the imperialists can exist with the modern revisionists, be

they Togliatists, Khrushchevian or Titoites, who have not only renounced fighting the imperialists, especially against the main bastion of world reaction, the American imperialists, but have also striven and strive by all methods and means to deck imperialism and its leaders in gay colors, to spread pacifist illusions about them, to discourage people to fight them, and have even gone so far as to come to scandalous terms with the various imperialists and reactionaries against the vital interests of the socialist countries and peace? Unity and collaboration in battle against the imperialists can exist only with marxist-leninists and those forces which stand on sound anti-imperialist positions, manifesting this in deeds and not only in words, but never with the revisionists who are the offspring of imperialism and who serve the imperialists.

What P. Togliati wants is to degenerate the socialist countries and the communist parties

P. Togliati's last writing is a clear expression of the divergences existing among various revisionist groups regarding the way and rate of development of modern revisionism in theory and in practice.

P. Togliati hurls a cartload of criticisms on N. Khrushchev's group and their followers for not going fast enough in the «democratic, liberal transformation» of life in socialist countries. He urges them to take longer, more open and more determined strides towards degenerating the socialist order.

P. Togliati raises again the old question which he and renegade Tito had raised as early as 1956, at the time of the counter-revolution in Hungary, on the «origin of J. Stalin's cult of the individual». He writes: «...In general the riddle of Stalin's cult

and how he ever came to be is considered unsolved. Men in the West», Togliati says, «and many sympathisers of communists among them, are not satisfied with explaining everything by Stalin's personal vices. Attempts are made to investigate the political errors that contributed in bringing about this cult».

It is obvious that by raising the problem of Stalin's «cult of the individual» in this way, P. Togliati wants radical changes to be made in the basis itself of the socialist order, in the main principles of its establishment and of the policy of socialist edification which has been pursued in the Soviet Union during Stalin's leadership.

But what is Togliati actually after?

This appears very clearly in an interview which he had granted to a correspondent of the American «Time» magazine on the morrow of the 1963 April 28 elections in Italy published for the first time after Togliati's death (see «Unita» dated September 18, 1964), as a document containing many theses elaborated later in P. Togliati's memorandum at Yalta. In this interview Togliati criticises quite openly the policy of nationalization of capitalist industry, of collectivization of agriculture and of the leadership of a single party etc, in other words, the basic line of socialist organization and reconstruction pursued during the period of Stalin's leadership in the Soviet Union. He wants such a line to be given up and «Stalin's errors not to be repeated».

It is not by accident that Togliati demands in his memorandum that «public discussions» should be organized now and then in socialist countries in which «leaders of different views» on matters of socialist construction should take part and express their own 'original' regarding ways and methods of development

of socialist economy. It is not hard to guess what P. Togliati has in mind. It is well known that such «discussions» are being conducted now in the Soviet Union in connection with inserting the principle of «gain» in soviet enterprises, a thing which marks a step towards carrying out the experience of the Titoite clique on the so-called «self management of workers» in Soviet economy. This is the way to capitalist degeneration of socialist economy. And it is precisely this treacherous way that P. Togliati urges to be taken faster and more firmly.

But for Togliati, for all Italian revisionists and those who follow them, openly or under guise, first and foremost and above all, the «process of de-Stalinization» in countries where revisionists hold sway is not satisfactory, it is not being carried out at the required speed. «The problem to which the greatest attention is being attached, as far as the Soviet Union as well as the other socialist countries are concerned», says he in his «testament», «is now especially that of overcoming the regime of restriction and suppression of personal democratic rights established by Stalin. The general impression is that there is laxity and resistance in returning to leninist norms, which provided wide freedom of expression and discussion in the party and out of it, in the field of culture, of art as well as in politics».

Thus, in the process of «de-Stalinization» Togliati sees a speedy radical transformation, in theory and practice, of the regime, of the system, of the internal and foreign policy of the USSR and of the other socialist countries of Europe, so that these countries may turn from the right road of building socialism on the scientific basis of marxism-leninism to countries with a liberal, social-democrat, state-capitalist regime. In other words, Togliati wants that the way which N.

Khrushchev and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union opened towards degenerating the Soviet Union from a socialist country to a liberal bourgeois country must not be blocked, that the process must not be retarded but, on the contrary, it should be sped up.

In order that this process may make headway, it is necessary, the Italian revisionists claim, to fully discredit, both politically and ideologically, the Soviet system which gave rise, allegedly, to «Stalin's cult of the individual», to discredit Stalin who allegedly «deformed marxism-leninism», «set up the most ruthless dictatorship that mankind has ever seen», who caused «great damage», «un-called for» and «barbarous» to the class struggle, who «turned the Soviet Union into a frightful monster for the world bourgeoisie, for the social democrats» etc.

In fact, N. Khrushchev's group and those who follow in their tracks are fully at one with P. Togliati in principle and they are proceeding precisely along the anti-Soviet road which he preaches. It is a fact that within the framework of «liberalizing» and «democratizing» the social order the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party are being liquidated in the Soviet Union. It is known at the same time that doors are flung wide open in the Soviet Union and in certain countries of the People's Democracy to the spread of all kinds of anti-Soviet, bourgeois decadent trends in the field of art and culture. These are no longer a secret for any one. But proceeding at posthaste speed along this line is something delicate and accompanied with certain negative consequences for the revisionists themselves, a thing that compels N. Khrushchev and his group to show themselves more mature and more restrained than Togliati desires.

They are obliged to show more discretion because a dash on the road to the bourgeois-liberal degeneration of the socialist order would soon reveal before the masses their true features of renegates of socialism and of restorers of capitalism. Besides N. Khrushchev's group are apparently afraid to loosen the strings on the extreme revisionist elements by allowing them full freedom of speech and action, for they would create difficulties for them too, as it actually was the case with certain writers of the Soviet Union, who started to call Khrushchev himself to account for the «crimes» committed during Stalin's time. Lastly, N. Khrushchev's group and their revisionist followers in other countries couldn't well afford to be in favor of unlimited «liberalism», for that would raise before them the problem of freedom of speech and of action also for the sound revolutionary and marxist-leninist elements who oppose their revisionist line. But it is well known that N. Khrushchev's group and their supporters have established the bitterest censure and police regime against the marxist-leninists.

Of course, Togliati and the Togliatists hail as «very positive» the steps taken in the USSR and in certain other socialist countries to degenerate the socialist order and to insert the influences of bourgeois ideology on a wide scale in their country. But, according to them, this process is going on very slowly, by zigzags and checks and it is meeting with the resistance of the «old», whereas they stand in need of a speedier advance towards eliminating 'in toto' the «perilous consequences of the dictatorship of the proletariat», towards the capitalist degeneration of socialist economy, of culture and art and of all other fields. They want to speed up the process of degenerating the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union, which has already become «a party of all the people», they demand that it become wholly a party of the type of the Italian Communist Party, without rules and regulations, without discipline, «free», «democratic» with all kinds of fractions and trends in its ranks. In short, Togliati recommends to the Khrushchevian revisionists to intensify the reforms undertaken to liberalize the party, to allow greater freedom to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the parties of the Federated Republics (to even discontinue the present «dogmatic» forms that the Khrushchevian revisionists resort to), and best of all, to possibly cross over from the old «dogmatic» one-party system to a system of many parties. This would be, according to the Togliatists, the climax of «socialist democracy» (they came very near to saying «this is what Lenin long dreamt of» but that Stalin hindered the realization of this «dream of Lenin's» for tens of years! But they are apt to say it some day).

Togliati and all the Italian revisionists who work in a capitalist country are reluctant to take into account the special conditions and difficulties that the Khrushchevians and other revisionists have to face in proceeding unchecked along the way to degeneration. The Togliatists want the process of degeneration to be sped up in the Soviet Union and as a consequence in the other socialist countries of Europe, because that is the only way to stop the capitalist world from fearing the USSR, socialism, communism, that is the only way to persuade the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals that «the devil is not so black as he is described», that socialism is not so unacceptable to them (and that if there have so far existed unacceptable things for the bourgeoisie in socialist countries, they have been «distortions» by Stalin). We could thus take up the question of build-

ing a «new system of world socialism» with «marxists», with «socialists», with social-democrats, with Christian-democrats, with capitalists, by «peaceful» methods, without class struggle, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without doing away with the old bourgeois regime, but through «structural reforms», by parliamentary methods, acting in conformity with laws of bourgeois constitutions and so on and so forth.

For as much as the 20th Congress approved the principle of going over to «socialism» by «democratic» and «peaceful» methods, the Italian revisionists argue, then that principle should be carried out with consistency, not only by words but by deeds, and it evolves on the Khrushchevian revisionists and others to set the example before the whole world, to remove the fear of «democrats» by showing that «the Stalin bugbear has been done away with deeds, that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been transformed into a social-democrat paradise, into countries of «popular socialism» acceptable to all the democrats of the world!

P. Togliati expresses dissatisfaction and pretensions also in matters regarding the development of revisionism in western countries. «We have always been of the opinion» he writes, «that it is not right to describe the workers and communist movement in western countries in entirely optimistic terms. On this side of the world, our development and our forces are to this day unsuitable for the tasks lying before us, even though progress has been made in cases at random».

This is quite an interesting assertion. It is a known fact that the leadership of the communist parties in most of these countries is in the hand of revisionist elements who pursue the same opportu-

ist and anti-marxist policy that Togliati, Tito, Khrushchev & Co preach. Togliati's assertion shows to what plight the modern revisionist trend has led the communist movement.

And what does Togliati pretend? What recommendations does he offer to pull the communist movement of the western world from this predicament? Most elementary logic would require that the first and decisive step in this direction, must be the renunciation of the revisionist and anti-revolutionary line which has lowered the authority and prestige of the communist and workers parties in the West and has led to the alienation and isolation of the communists from the masses. Whereas P. Togliati recommends quite the contrary: to continue to pursue the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. «In general» he writes, «we proceed, and we are sure we should proceed, in drawing up our policy from the lines of the 20th Congress. But these positions too need be further deepened and developed nowadays».

More concretely he demands that all the efforts of workers and communist parties in western countries should be directed towards «peaceful» and «legal» forms of warfare, under the pattern of the so called «Italian way» to socialism (demands to elaborate and put into effect «a general plan of economic development» in the interests of workers «to counter balance the capitalist program» which is to the interests of the big monopolies, to «democratize» the management of economic life in capitalist countries and so on and so forth). «For instance» P. Togliati writes, «deeper thinking on the theme of the possibility of the peaceful way to socialism compels us to define more precisely what we understand by democracy in a bourgeois state, how we can expand

the limits of freedom and of democratic institutions, and what would be the most effective forms of participation of the working masses in economic and political life. The question here arises how the working class can acquire state posts within the framework of a state which has not changed its nature as a bourgeois state and, consequently, whether it would be feasible to wage an internal war to gradually transform this nature. In countries in which the communist movement has waxed strong like with us (and France) this is a basic matter which props up today in political life».

We have had occasion also before, particularly in the article «On the theses of the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party» appearing in the 1962 November 17 and 19 issues of the «Zëri i Popullit» daily, to dwell at length in analyzing the so called «Italian way» to socialism and to prove that it is characterized by a flagrant departure from the basic teachings of marxism-leninism on the class struggle, on the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is an entirely opportunist and revisionist «way» similar to the preachings by Bernstein, Kautzky and other former opportunists, by the right-wing socialists, by the Titoite clique and other renegates of the present days. And it is precisely this deeper plunge into the line of betrayal, of renouncing the revolution, of alienating the communists and laboring masses from the revolutionary fight that P. Togliati recommends as a way out of the crisis into which the modern revisionists have led the communist movement in the West.

Togliati wants likewise to renounce anything which may hamper the revisionists from striking up alliances with the liberal bourgeoisie, with bourgeois intellectuals, with christian-democrats, with social-

democrats and with all other «allies» upholding «the democratic, Italian way to socialism». He cites as an example the indispensability of renouncing «the old atheistic formula», that is to say, the fight on principle against religion and the reactionary policy of the Vatican, as well as the struggle to uphold the principles of marxism in the field of culture, art, science and philosophy.

This is in fact the line of political and ideological degeneration of the communist and workers parties in the western countries, the line of transforming them into parties of the social-democratic type. To complete the picture we should add here that the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, with P. Togliatti at the head, have long pursued at the same time the policy of the organizational degeneration of the proletarian party, transforming it gradually from a vanguard revolutionary, combative, well organized and well-disciplined party of the working class into amorphous, not clearly defined organization lacking sound party discipline, where every one can come and go at his own discretion and where the supreme duty of the party member consists in merely giving a vote for the Communist Party at parliamentary elections, or at other elections that take place in capitalist countries.

Thus, the Italian revisionists, whether they like or not, admit with regret that their treacherous course has brought them no benefits. On the contrary, far from assuming power, through «parliamentary» methods, the revisionist parties in capitalist countries are losing even the seats they used to have before in bourgeois parliaments; far from consolidating their old alliances and striking up new alliances with socialists, with christian-democrats, with social-democrats and others, they even lost the

ones they used to have and they have failed to achieve anything through their «structural reforms» under the aegis of bourgeois constitutions. And, what is more, they are witnessing an ever growing resistance within the parties, marxist-leninist groups outside the parties which are growing and developing to be transformed into new marxist-leninist parties. This spells their eventual doom and they are well aware that their collapse is imminent.

With this situation before him one can easily understand why Togliati sounds the alarm for other revisionists and especially for those of the Soviet Union, with N. Khrushchev in the lead. Togliati wants a change in tactics towards «dogmatists» and, at the same time, an acceleration of the process of degenerating the socialist countries and closer ties with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, according to Togliati, should set «the good example» of liquidating for good «the Stalinist anomaly» and of setting up a «democratic», «liberal» socialism of the type which the right-wing social-democrat leaders preach, which they even claim to have set up in a number of European capitalist countries.

Thus, for the sake of the triumph of the «Italian way» to socialism, for the sake of their alliances with the bourgeoisie, with the social-democrats, with the christian-democrats and others, Togliati and all the Italian revisionists want to sacrifice the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to liquidate the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the popular revolutions in other countries attained by the fighting and shedding of blood of peoples. This is a great anti-Soviet and anti-socialist plot that reveals the true treacherous features of the Togliatist revisionists.

But these demands of Togliati's have met, and could not help meet with the resistance of N. Khrushchev's group who are now in a critical situation. They have gone so far on the road to treason that they will not nor can retreat for such a gesture would spell their complete failure and annihilation. But they cannot proceed at the speed demanded by Togliati either, for that would also expose them completely and bring them to their doom. Finding themselves in such a predicament N. Khrushchev's group oppose Togliati's line and strive to force their own line on the Togliatists relying on the power of the «ruble», on the military strength and authority of the USSR and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

All this goes to show that although they tread on the same path of treason, the revisionists are not nor can they be united, because divergences between them, far from being settled will keep widening to split and chop up the revisionist front.

**«Polycentrism» and «monocentrism» — two
anti-marxist trends within the ranks of the
modern revisionists**

The other important issue which Togliati raises in his «testament» is the so called theory of **polycentrism** which is set up against the line of **monocentrism** of N. Khrushchev and his group.

N. Khrushchev's is the line of the fist on the table not only towards marxist-leninist parties, but also towards other revisionists, the line of rude dictation to compell all to obey unconditionally N. Khrushchev's group and to approve with knees bent their policy of the chauvinism of the big state and

of the «mother party». Whereas Togliati's polycentrist line is the typical expression of a liberal, opportunist, social-democratic policy which intends to get rid of any compulsion by N. Khrushchev's group, and not only for the Italian Communist Party but also for the other revisionists both in the capitalist world and in socialist countries.

Togliati holds that «Moscow» is no longer and can not be capable of directing the international communist movement. The authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should, according to Togliati, be eliminated because this is an «anachronism», a «perilous remnant of Stalin's cult». N. Khrushchev's group must give up directing and dominating the international communist movement, must give up their monopoly of keeping all other parties bound to the Communist Party of the USSR, must give up the privilege of being the sole authority to maintain connections with smaller communist and workers parties, to hold meetings with them and to give directives and advice to them. He even refuses to allow the Communist Party and the Government of the USSR to have the privilege of maintaining one-sided relations and discuss politics with non-communist, nationalist elements and progressive officials of non-developed countries. Togliati wants to set up a number of centers to direct political, ideological activity, particularly in the capitalist world. And concretely these centers should be, according to him, the Italian, French and Spanish Communist Parties.

These two lines were clearly expressed especially by the different attitudes maintained towards the meeting of communist and workers' parties proposed by N. Khrushchev's group. The latter have decided to call an immediate international meeting of the parties not only to condemn and oust the Communist

Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania and other marxist-leninist parties and sanction, in this way, the definite and open split in the communist movement, but also to establish hegemony, to dictate their law and line to the revisionist parties, to subjugate all the revisionists to their dictate, to force their «charter» on them. Whereas the Italian revisionists oppose the convocation of the meeting proposed by Khrushchev for the above reasons and do their utmost to have their polycentrist theses accepted, for they refuse to submit to any dictate, they refuse to have their hands tied by any joint decision, but they intend to proceed along unhampered by any «joint charter» even though it be a revisionist one from top to bottom.

Togliati expresses these hesitations and tendencies very clearly in his «testament». He says: «We have our doubts and reserves about the opportune moment of the international conference...» and that «we might even be afraid lest the adoption of rigid general formulae might be an obstacle», that «we would, therefore, oppose any proposition to set up again a centralized international organization». Therefore, P. Togliati proposes that instead of the international meeting «to proceed along with a series of talks between groups of parties... in the various sectors of our movement (Western Europe, countries of Latin America, countries of the third world and their contacts with the communist movement of the capitalist countries, of the countries of the people's democracy and so on)». This, according to Togliati, will also be a better way to fight the marxist-leninist parties. «Finally» Togliati continues, «once our tasks and our line of policy have definitely been defined, sector by sector, then the international meeting might be called off if this would be deemed neces-

sary to avoid a formal breach, which, the Togliatists fear as much as the devil fears the scent of incense.

But by expressing opposition to the general meeting Togliati stresses in his «testament»: «There is no gainsaying the fact that we will take part, and an active part at that, in the preparatory meeting». This seemingly contradictory stand of the Togliatist revisionists complies in full with their line and their aims. The preliminary preparatory meeting does not bind the leaders of the Italian Communist Party by any pledges or obligations, while, on the other hand, it gives them a chance to introduce their platform as a different one from that of N. Khrushchev's group, with the hope of recruiting supporters, perhaps even N. Khrushchev's group themselves, in a number of issues.

But the decision of Togliati and of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party to take part in the preliminary preparatory meeting is, at the same time, to the interests and coincides with the aims of N. Khrushchev's group. An «original» position of this kind, as the western press comments too, creates a precedence for those communist and workers parties which have so far hesitated to take part in the 15 December meeting, «arguing» that one can very well take part in even a meeting the mission of which one disagrees with!

Expressing opposition to the dissentient meeting N. Khrushchev wants to organize, the Italian revisionists are by no means concerned about the unity of the communist movement and of the socialist camp. On the contrary, they too, like N. Khrushchev's group, are in favor of a split, even of a total break up of the communist movement. Through their totally opportunist and social-democrat views, the Italian revisionists have long sown the seed of discord and are

continually deepening the gap. They have waged and continue to wage a bitter battle against marxist-leninist parties and persist on keeping it up forever and a day. The so called «autonomy» which the Togliatists preach for socialist countries and communist parties means, as the writings of Togliati and various documents of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party imply, that socialist countries and communist parties should be «unconstrained» by any marxist-leninist principle, by any general law, so that they may be «free», that each adopt its own «specific» line, pursue «different policies», strike up alliances and collaborate with any one they wish whenever they wish. Openly at variance with the idea of unity is also the polycentrist line of the Italian revisionists, the line of setting up various centers of direction in the communist movement, as openly at variance as the Khrushchevian line of the «unified command» is.

The entire line of the Italian revisionists who want to get rid of any yoke by N. Khrushchev's group, not only for themselves but also for all other revisionists, who want to chop up the communist movement into separate «zones of influence» shows, on one hand, their mistrust towards N. Khrushchev's group of renegates and their fear before the danger of complete dissolution to which the latter are leading it, while, on the other hand, their endeavors to evade this total catastrophe by setting up groups of revisionist parties, which would save the face and prolong the life of modern revisionism through various alliances and various masks. Against N. Khrushchev's «crude» tactics which jeopardizes the existence of all modern revisionism tied to the Khrushchevian cart, the Togliatists set forth their

«refined» tactics of many revisionist centers, so that if one fails, the others may be saved.

The polycentrist position of the Italian revisionists is also to the liking of the imperialists, who, their support for N. Khrushchev's revisionist course against revolutionary marxist-leninists notwithstanding, wish to further weaken this group by helping with the «chivalry of St George and of the dollar» those groups of revisionists which run faster in the race to win independence from «the ruble» in order to attach themselves to the «dollar» and so to compel the Khrushchevian leaders to make further concessions to the imperialists towards degenerating socialism and the international communist movement.

It is natural for N. Khrushchev's revisionist group who stand wholly on chauvinist grounds of the big state and on paternalism in their relations with their revisionist partners who understand only too well that the Togliatists are striving to undermine their «absolute domination» and are striving to consolidate their own positions to the detriment of the interests of the Khrushchevian group, to oppose and reject the polycentrist line of Togliati and his followers. The polemics between them, at times in open allusions at others under cover, have even peeped up their heads in public. Referring to the convocation of the international meeting of the communist and workers parties, B. Ponomaryov makes light of the positions of the Togliatists and their followers in a speech delivered on September 28, at a meeting commemorating the 100th anniversary of the 1st International, and stresses that independence of communist parties does not at all imply that we should act according to the proverb: «each frog croaks in its own pool». «The tendency to interpret the independence of the parties as a departure from solving common internationalist

tasks» B. Ponomaryov continues, «as some sort of 'neutrality' when it comes to solving common matters, cannot at all be considered as a sign of independence nor of good judgment» (see «Pravda» dated September 29, 1964).

Facts go to prove that the nearer the time of the meeting proposed by N. Khrushchev's group draws, the more nervous the revisionists become, the more aggravated their divergences grow, the more clear cut appear the two opposing lines in the revisionist front. Both of them spell the doom of the revisionists themselves. The dogmatic, revisionist and dictatorial line of N. Khrushchev's group contains in itself the seed of discord of the revisionist front, because it arouses the protest of the other revisionist groups and enhances their endeavors to get rid of the brutal dictate of N. Khrushchev and his group. This line has led and leads to the isolation of this group from their revisionist partners themselves. Togliati's polycentrist, revisionist and liberal line, preaching the break up of the «unified command» of N. Khrushchev's group in fighting revolutionary marxism-leninism, contains, likewise, the seed of discord among revisionist groups, consequently, their defeat and inevitable end.

A firm struggle of principle against all revisionist trends — a sacred duty of revolutionary communists

Togliati's «testament» and many other facts clearly testify that the revisionist front has been split and that this gap is getting wider and will be getting wider and wider in the days to come. Contradictions within the ranks of the revisionists are nothing extraordinary, but purely according to

rule, because the revisionists are men of no principles, because they, whether Khrushchevian, Togliatists, Titoites or of any other brand, are servants of the bourgeoisie and their theories are variations of bourgeois ideology, consequently, contain the germ of contradictions of nationalism, of separatism and of dissension. True unity of thought and of action can be had only on the basis of marxist-leninist and proletarian internationalist ideology, which the revisionists have betrayed and abandoned. Consequently, there will be among modern revisionists in their total war against marxism-leninism, which they will stubbornly keep up ad infinitum, forms, shades, alliances, prompted and inspired by all kinds of general temporary, momentary factors, coordinated and loose, there will be different tactics and contradictions.

P. Togliati's «testament» reveals that at least two different tactical lines, the «monocentrist» line of N. Khrushchev's group and Togliati's «polycentrist» line, are taking definite shape in the revisionist camp to be used against marxist-leninists.

These divergences between Khrushchevians and their companions on one part and Togliatists and their companions on the other are not new and came out in the open immediately following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The 20th Congress was unanimously approved by all the revisionists. But while some of them called it «complete» and «adequate» for that time, Togliatists showed themselves to be «more radical» revisionists and wanted and proposed to carry the «analysis» still «deeper». The Khrushchevian revisionists, for effects of propaganda and demagoguery and fearing a deeper and more immediate splitting of the international communist movement, acted in

a more restrained way, tried to calm but without succeeding to persuade the Togliatists, who refraining from turning this issue into a «conflict» developed their own rightist views, naturally, supporting and approving the 20th Congress at the same time and the subsequent 22nd Congress later. This relative «silence» of the Italian revisionists, or this, so to say, incorporation of theirs in the general «euphory» of the revisionists, was also prompted by their intention to first consolidate their revisionist positions in the ranks of the international communist movement, to first swallow up the «bitter pill», and then to take further steps, in theory and practice, towards revisionism and degeneracy.

It can be said that the method of starting their work of betrayal was a more reserved one, more restrained, more wily and more demagogic on the part of the Khrushchevian renegates. While that of the Togliatists for the same work of betrayal, was less restrained and more adventuresome. To «calm Togliati and his companions down», N. Khrushchev's group charged the French «communists» to exert pressure, which they actually did, and at times the «fire» of polemics even peeped its head in public.

Although N. Khrushchev's group of traitors who had militated in secret in the ranks of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, were well aware of the fact that the treason of the revisionists would not remain for long undetected. unexposed and un-fought against, they still proved to be very naive. The Khrushchevian revisionists believed, especially at the beginning, that everything would run smoothly without any major opposition, they relied a great deal on their demagoguery, they thought that the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would keep their treason under cover;

they relied on the big economic power of the Soviet Union, on the dependence of others on Soviet economic credits and on military alliances. The Soviet leaders with N. Khrushchev at the head believed also that their «partners», the various imperialists, and first and foremost, the American imperialists, would easily agree to their «peaceful proposals» to «put the world in order».

But the modern revisionists were unable to carry out these aims and others like these as they had wished. The struggle of principle of the Communist Party of China and of the Party of Labor of Albania, in the first place, as well as that of all marxist-leninists of the world, of all progressive minded men, hampered them seriously. And obstacles are continually increasing from day to day and will be always increasing ever so much in the days to come.

Modern revisionists, with the Khrushchevians in the lead, have gone very deep down the road of treason, they should and will keep going still further down. But they have now already been exposed to the eyes of the whole world, to the eyes of the international communist movement. the fight waged by our marxist-leninist parties have become a great danger for them, it has spelled their doom. Therefore, they have now to reckon seriously with our fight which is growing and becoming a grave menace to the revisionists. The big, just battle of principle waged by the marxist-leninist parties has not only torn the mask and frustrated the plans of the revisionists, but also brought about insurmountable difficulties for them, aggravating at the same time the latent contradictions and bringing about new ones between themselves.

Khrushchevian revisionists and their supporters

having failed in their diabolic tactics ranging from lies, demagoguery, flattery, threats to economic blockades, rupture of diplomatic relations, trumped-up charges under epithets of «nationalists», «splitters», «renegates», «agents of imperialism» and so on, see no other way out but to get closer to the imperialists and to carry the process of splitting the international communist movement to the end.

Under these circumstances N. Khrushchev's group want to call all the revisionist groups to a meeting in Moscow and there to dictate their will of renegates and splitters and to incorporate them anew to continue waging a «more organized battle using all means against the revolutionary marxist-leninists (even to the use of the «new weapon of extermination», which N. Khrushchev referred to recently, against the People's Republic of China and the other fraternal socialist countries). This is the desperate, hopeless war of a clique of traitors.

Khrushchev's acolytes are in a great dilemma. They loathe being eliminated and pushed off the scene, they do not want to gamble but they do want to live longer and serve the international bourgeoisie for many days to come. That is why divergences peeped up their heads among the revisionists and at these moments of inevitable crisis for them, these divergences are getting worse and worse.

Contradictions between Khrushchevians and Italian polycentrist revisionists are more grave. These two trends are confronting each other on the eve of the Khrushchevian summons of the international meeting of the communist and workers parties. Revisionists of various countries are lining up with one or the other of these two main tactical lines. In fact Togliatti's line has brought disturbance to

the revisionist pool where frogs wriggle. Some of them are openly supporting this line of Togliati's, some are approving it under tone for they have their throats stuffed up with rubles, still others launch partial criticisms supporting in other directions. The Italian revisionists, on their part have sent delegations to many countries to explain their stand and to recruit as many allies to their tactics as they can.

It is more than clear that regardless of the kind of tactics the revisionists of every hue, from Khrushchev down to Togliati, may use, they have one common preoccupation and objective, namely, to intensify their fight against marxism-leninism, against revolution and socialism, to consolidate the positions of revisionism and to prolong its living days. They strive to quell down the heat of battle of the marxist-leninists against them, to succeed in putting a stop to the great polemics of principle going on today, to hinder the formation of true revolutionary groups and parties. In this battle and for these objectives they are united, they act in a single front. Divergences between them are not on matters of strategy, but on tactics, vying with each other as to how to wage it more effective and how to attain their objectives more easily.

Nurturing no illusions about the tactical maneuvers of the revisionists, marxist-leninists and all revolutionaries deem it their sacred duty to fight firmly and consistently against all the trends of modern revisionism, to expose their counter-revolutionary plans and objectives. In this battle they are guided by the teachings of marxism-leninism which constitute the compass and the tested weapon for every true revolutionary.

Spreading all sorts of illusions about the pos-

sibility of settling differences, by even posing as an enemy of the imperialists and opponents of N. Khrushchev, posing as fighters for unity, the modern revisionists aim at deceiving the communists, at hiding their true features and objectives. But these fraudulent maneuvers will have no success.

Only communist parties and revolutionaries who stand firmly on ideological grounds of the working class can be true fighters against Khrushchevian revisionists in defense of genuine marxist-leninist unity. Revisionism cannot be fought on revisionist positions just as true unity cannot be established on revisionist grounds.

In this struggle the marxist-leninists have also their allies with which they have certain things in common. But while collaborating with them in the war, the marxist-leninists make no concessions of principle, they make no secret of their revolutionary line, they feel duty-bound and they actually make clear this line and these principles to all.

It is quite different with those Togliatists and their companions, who, their contradictions with N. Khrushchev and his companions notwithstanding, remain consistent revisionists and their ultimate objective is to fight marxism-leninism. All of these revisionists, regardless of the contradictions between them, are enemies of the revolution and of communism. Contradictions among revisionists are, of course, to our advantage and should be utilized for they weaken the revisionist front. The consistent, continuous fight of principle against modern revisionism will deepen and aggravate these contradictions, but marxist-leninists nurture no illusions about the revisionists, they are not fooled by their demagogy and do not fall into the trap they try to put up.

Modern revisionism is the principal enemy within the ranks of the international communist and workers movement. N. Khrushchev's group stand at the head of modern revisionism, they are the most powerful detachment of it. The greatest and most serious manace comes from this group who have usurped the leadership of the party founded by Lenin and of the first socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is the primary duty of all the marxist-leninist parties and of the revolutionary communists of the world to fight against this group, to expose and smash them.

Side by side with N. Khrushchev's group, the other groups of revisionists, particularly the Togliatists and Titoites, constitute a grave danger too. Titoism is an important part of modern revisionism in power backed by a big imperialist power, the American imperialists, who direct and assist it. The voice of Titoites is the voice of American imperialism, singing with the vocal chords of the Titoites in the international communist and workers movement. The American imperialists strive to sabotage and undermine the socialist camp, to degenerate the whole of the international communist and workers movement, through the direct activities of their agents, the Titoites, whom they have bought off with dollars. N. Khrushchev rehabilitated Tito's clique, strengthened them and, not quite willingly, made them powerful ideological and political partners who are causing uneasiness to him, because now it is not only the Khrushchevians alone but the Titoites have their say and dictate laws in the ranks of revisionists. Tito's clique strives to spur on and deepen the contradictions that have arisen among the ranks of the revisionists and to weaken the sway of the Khrushchevians over their partners, so

they can supply fuel to their own egocentric engine. Tito's clique try also to wean away the discontented elements resulting from the contradictions between N. Khrushchev's group on one hand and all other revisionist groups on the other, and stop them from returning to positions of marxism-leninism, but let the dissatisfied come and cry in the bosom of Titoism! Tito urges the revisionists in the ranks of the Mutual Economic Assistance Council to win ever greater economic independence from N. Khrushchev's group. And since he himself is unable to give them «aid» and credits, he encourages them to ask for «aid» from the West, to get closer to and join with the imperialists and, taking Yugoslavia for a pattern, to «build socialism» with the help of American dollars!

But marxist-leninists have no doubts whatsoever that the «fight» of the Titoites just like the «fight» of the Togliatists against Khrushchev, is a battle between traitors for domination, for direction, it is a war of the various revisionist groups against the people of the Soviet Union, against the marxist-leninists and all revolutionaries whom they are afraid of.

The revisionists of the various groups are part and parcel and representatives of one single retrogressive trend, modern revisionism. They, whether big or small, powerful or weak, masked or unmasked, in the vanguard or in the rear guard, are all opposed to marxism, fight against marxism-leninism, some openly and with all batteries, others throw stones and hide their hands, as the situations and circumstances may demand. At times they work separately, at others glued together, at times rent apart to be regrouped in fractions, tied up by the

in interests of fighting socialism or by the
fictions between them.

Togliatti's «testament» leaves no doubt that
modern revisionists are dead set on carrying the
fight against marxism-leninism, against all the re-
fractory forces of the world to the bitter end.
There is no other way out for them. The consistent
principle of the marxist-leninists has revealed
the true nature of the revisionists, they can no longer
under any guise, they are obliged to come out in the
open and defend their revisionist line and wage active
struggle against marxist-leninists. This is a great victory
and a victory we should further consolidate by
intensifying our fight against modern revisionism
in whatever guise and form it may present

The process of differentiation in the communist
movement, the rise of new revolutionary groups
and parties, came as a result of the battle of marxist-
leninist parties and of revolutionary communists in
various countries as well as a consequence of the at-
tempts of the revisionist leaders to maintain their po-
sition at any cost by ousting sound communist ele-
ments from the ranks of communist parties. This pro-
cess continues and will keep on continuing non-stop.
The further victory achieved which should be
further strengthened by protecting, aiding, supporting
and to reserve these new revolutionary forces in
the fight against revisionism, against all the diabolic
methods and tactics to strangle and paralyze all
revolutionary trends in the communist movement.
The determined fight of the marxist-leninists,
the exposure of the modern revisionists, the defeat
they have met with and continue to meet with in
all fields of their activity, national or international,
has brought about sharp contradictions within the

ranks of modern revisionists. This too is a major victory for the revolutionary marxist-leninists in action, which must be carried ahead by deepening the contradictions in the revisionist camp. This too requires the further intensification of the determined struggle of all marxist-leninists against all trends of modern revisionism.

These historical achievements of marxism-leninism will keep on increasing from day to day. A decisive guarantee for this lies in the uncompromising struggle of principle of all marxist-leninist forces and parties against the treacherous aims and deeds of the modern revisionists, for their complete and ultimate collapse. The inevitable victory in this combat pertains to marxism-leninism.

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